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PARTNERS IN SCRUTINY: LOCAL POLICE SCRUTINY ARRANGEMENTS IN SCOTLAND

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This small-scale project was designed to examine the development and working of local police scrutiny arrangements following the creation of Police Scotland and in light of public concern regarding their efficacy. The project was supported by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) and ran between October 2015 and March 2016, the fieldwork being completed by January 2016. This report begins by setting out in detail the context for the project. It then outlines the project itself, which was conducted in two stages, and its findings. Stage one of the project was a mapping and overview exercise. Through mapping we identified the different ways in which Local Scrutiny Committees (LSCs) had developed since their creation on 1 April 2013, and through overview interviews with key stakeholders we gleaned some of the current issues around questions of local scrutiny. From stage one we were able to select three local sites for more in-depth qualitative study that would form the basis of stage two. The report outlines the process of this site selection and the data collected in the three sites before moving on to present the findings in two sections. In the first section we establish the main themes and issues to emerge from the fieldwork in a summary findings section. In the second we present in more detail the various perspectives expressed to us during the course of the project. We conclude with a discussion of these perspectives from our external standpoint as researchers, offering some reflections on their meaning and importance, and making some recommendations that flow out of them.

CONTEXT: POLICE REFORM, LOCAL POLICING STRUCTURES AND CURRENT ISSUES

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 came into force on 1 April 2013. The Act amalgamated eight regional police forces into a single Police Service for Scotland, now known as Police Scotland. This altered both the relationship between local government and the police and the arrangements through which Police Scotland would be scrutinised and held to account locally. Under the previous arrangements, set out in the Police (Scotland) Act 1967, local authorities exercised responsibilities for maintaining the eight regional forces, appointing and dismissing Chief and Assistant Chief Constables, employing civilian staff, scrutinising the Chief Constable's annual report, and requiring additional reports deemed necessary for the maintenance of policing in that area. These functions were carried out within unitary or joint Local Police Authorities (LPAs). LPAs were unitary where a single police service served a single local authority, such as in Fife. Joint LPAs were more common, occurring where multiple local authorities were served by a single police service (as was the case in Strathclyde and in Lothian and Borders, for example). Studies of these arrangements were generally critical (Donnelly and Scott, 2002; Laing and Fossey, 2011). Ahead of the 2012 Act, increasing centralisation of control was observed in the forms of central police policy

setting through the Association of Chief Police Officers Scotland (ACPOS), the Association of Scottish Police Superintendents (ASPS) and the Police Federation (PF), and through the auditing and scrutiny work of Audit Scotland and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland (HMICS) (Walker, 2000: 163-165). Research suggested that the 1967 framework failed to provide a strong local dimension to the governance and accountability of Scottish policing. In particular, LPAs were argued to be lacking in the necessary skills and capacities to effectively hold the police to account (Laing and Fossey, 2011; Audit Scotland, 2012), ultimately being characterised as generally providing a 'rubber stamp' to the will of the police and the Chief Constable (Donnelly and Scott, 2002: 10). A stated objective of the 2012 Act was that it should strengthen mechanisms of local governance.

Many of the functions of LPAs set out in the 1967 Act - specifically those around maintenance of the force, employment of civilian staff, and appointment and dismissal of senior ranks of Assistant Chief Constable and above - were relocated to the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) as part of the reform process (see chapter 1 of the 2012 Act in particular). The new role of local authorities, alongside ongoing commitments of the police towards local policing, is set out in chapter 7 of the 2012 Act (ss44-47) and is framed in terms of 'consultation', providing 'feedback' and 'scrutiny'. The responsibility to ensure the maintenance of 'adequate arrangements' for local policing is that of the Chief Constable (s44[1]). Following consultation with local authorities he or she must appoint a police officer as Local Area Commander (LAC) for each local authority area (s44(2)). A LAC may serve more than one local authority if required. The Chief Constable's responsibility to participate in Community Planning processes is delegated to these LACs (s46). Local authorities are required to be involved in the setting of local police priorities (s45[1]) and must approve the local police plan (s47) which should be drafted by the LAC giving cognisance to Police Scotland's Annual Police Plan. Local police plans must set out reasoned priorities and objectives for local policing, and, where appropriate, should identify outcomes against which performance can be measured (s47[2]). In undertaking this role the local authority may 'specify policing measures' (s45[3]) it wishes to be included in a local police plan, may 'provide feedback' on the plan (s44[4]), and must be provided with information about the policing of the local area by the LAC so long as the request is 'reasonable' (s45[5]). Requests relating to specific policing operations or the prosecution of offenders are identified in s46 as issues which the LAC must refer to the Chief Constable.

Preparations to support local authorities in negotiating the new arrangements began prior to commencement of the 2012 Act. The Scottish Government (SG), the Convention on Scottish Local Authorities (CoSLA) and the Improvement Service (IS) issued jointly agreed guidance setting out five overarching principles¹ of good scrutiny underpinning community engagement and consultation (2013: 4):

- Principle 1: Focus on outcomes
- Principle 2: Understand local conditions and reflect the community voice
- Principle 3: Promote joint working to secure better outcomes and best value
- Principle 4: Provide strategic leadership in order to influence service delivery
- Principle 5: Support continuous improvement by providing constructive challenge

¹ Each principle sets out a list of characteristics deemed as 'good' practice and a list of characteristics deemed as 'best' practice to "offer longer term aspirations" (2013:5)

The guidance was linked to a consultation survey through which local stakeholders could comment and contribute to developing iterations of it. A series of Learning Network Events were also organised to facilitate discussion of and shared learning around the new arrangements, many of them already emerging as Pathfinder committees established to work through and test the new processes, prior to their formal creation on 1 April 2013. Where applicable, examples are provided in the findings sections to illustrate how some of these principles of good scrutiny were reflected in emerging practice at the three sites.

A joint review conducted by HMICS and Her Majesty's Fire Service Inspectorate for Scotland (HMFSIS) which reported in May 2013 found that progress had been made in designating LACs and in setting up local scrutiny arrangements across the 32 local authority areas, although some that had not been Pathfinders were still finalising relevant local structures. The review found that the new arrangements were broadly welcomed by local practitioners and specifically indicated that there was some evidence that elected members had seen an improvement in the quality and direct local relevance of information supplied to them by LACs (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013: 6.15). However, the review also identified some areas for development and further review, namely that levels and quality of local consultation were variable (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013: 5.15), and that the relationship between 'scrutiny and engagement' and 'governance and accountability' wasn't always clear to members, particularly where there was a perceived overlap between national and local matters and uncertainty over the mechanisms through which such matters could be formally addressed (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013: 6.13). The review also noted that Local Scrutiny Committees (LSCs), as they had become known, were emerging in a variety of ways, with different connections to existing structures - such as full council meetings and community safety partnerships, for example (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013: 6.4) and that this was in line with the spirit of the 2012 Act which provided 'considerable latitude' for local arrangements to be tailored locally (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013: 6.1).

The years following the implementation of the new LSCs have seen a number of high profile issues emerging which have raised concerns about the efficacy of these arrangements. For example, the routine arming of police officers, the policing of saunas and the sex industry, closures of public counters, and the ending of police traffic wardens were understood in some circles, including the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing², to evidence a lack of local consultation and deliberation on matters which have a direct effect on local policing services and the communities they serve. Concerns are such that in 2015 The Scottish Government hosted a Local Policing Summit to consult with local stakeholders on the working of LSCs, and the SPA established a Partners in Scrutiny forum to work with local authority officers, also formalising direct links between local officers and designated SPA board members in order to improve lines of communication between them. Ongoing concerns about local policing are also given particular emphasis in both the Scottish Labour Party's recent review of policing in Scotland (Pearson, 2015) and in the SPA's wider review of the governance of Police Scotland, requested by the Cabinet Secretary for Justice, which is due to report in March 2016.

² See, for example, minutes of the 31 October 2013 session on front counter closures and minutes of the 21 August 2014 meeting on armed policing.

PARTNERS IN SCRUTINY: THE RESEARCH

This research emerged out of this context of wider reform of the police in Scotland, emerging new structures of local governance, and heightened political and public interest in how effectively these new structures are working. Its primary objectives were to:

1. Map emergent local policing scrutiny arrangements across Scotland;
2. Examine in more detail examples of how LSCs are constituted, organised and work, internally and with partners; and
3. Investigate how these emergent arrangements support the SPA in its scrutiny responsibilities, and how they are in turn supported by the SPA.

The project was conducted in two stages. In stage one we sought to 'map' the various ways in which LSCs have thus far been established, and explored with some key stakeholders the kinds of issues and concerns around these arrangements that might be investigated in more detail in stage two. The mapping and overview exercise was informed by an Advisory Board³, additional meetings with stakeholders in CoSLA, the Scottish Government and the Improvement Service, and drew upon existing publically available reviews and audits carried out since amalgamation of the police. Stage two involved in-depth qualitative study of three LSCs to explore their working from the perspectives of participants in them - convenors, local authority officers, local police commanders, elected members and Community Planning liaisons in particular.

STAGE 1: MAPPING LOCAL SCRUTINY ARRANGEMENTS IN SCOTLAND

Local Scrutiny Committees have evolved in a diverse set of ways according to local circumstances and practices, as was envisaged/permitted by the 2012 Act. A rough typology (Appendix A) of the different emergent types, according to their relationship with other local authority structures, was mapped out by the Improvement Service and the SPA. We use this typology to give a sense of emergent practice and how it is distributed around the country in the map (see Fig. 1). The typology classifies LSCs depending on whether they are constituted:

1. As dedicated blue light services (i.e. also including the Fire Service and sometimes Ambulance Services as well) committees;
2. Within existing community safety committees;
3. Within an audit/performance committee or other; or
4. As part of the full council.

A necessary caveat is that some committees have been reviewing their practice and location within local government structures. The map is merely a snapshot at this moment in time and committees may move across this typology as they evolve and settle. There is also variation within each

³ The Advisory Board included input from the SPA, Police Scotland, local councillors, HMICS and an academic independent from the project team.

location. For example, community safety committees are organised in various ways with different memberships contributing to them.

The map (fig. 1) indicates that there is variation within each of the three Police Regional Command Areas (North, West and East) and even within the thirteen Divisional Command Areas. This means that the same Divisional Commander (DC), and LACs working with them, may serve different types of scrutiny arrangement across the various local authorities within their Division. Indeed, it was found in stage two that this was the case.

In terms of the distribution of models there was no uniform approach across urban or rural locations either. The rationale for each local authority to adopt a specific type of LSC arrangement seemed closely connected to the particularities of local council committee structures, and perhaps also to the arrangements whereby LPAs were previously configured, although we were unable to confirm this definitively. The mapping did indicate that the most common arrangement (adopted by 13 local authorities in total) was to situate the LSC within a community safety committee (type 2) potentially allowing a broader membership and consideration of wider issues than approaches which more narrowly focus on the police. As will be discussed below, two LSCs of this kind were included within stage two of the project.

Emergent issues from the mapping exercise

The mapping and overview exercise identified a number of issues and questions that we would move on to explore in more detail in stage two of the project.

- **Structural ‘disconnects’.** There were concerns about potential ‘structural disconnects’ in three key senses. Firstly, between LSCs and the centre, where local participants felt that issues defined as ‘national’ in fact had ‘local’ repercussions for their communities that required deliberation, and, potentially in some cases, a formal mechanism through which such issues could be ‘escalated’ where they had not been resolved to their satisfaction. It was noted in these interviews that ‘escalation’ might mean from the LSC to the SPA and/or from the LAC to the Chief Constable. In stage two of the research internal escalation within the police emerged as a particular issue for DCs and LACs, and this is reflected in how we structure these findings later. Secondly, it was perceived that structural disconnects could also exist between LSCs and local communities themselves, as there was some ambiguity as to how the work of LSCs would be cascaded back to communities and other community-based institutions, such as Community Councils. Thirdly, and closely related to this issue, were questions about how well LSCs were connected to Community Planning structures, and cognisant of local Single Outcome Agreements around policing, security and community well-being.
- **Understanding of roles and functions.** How clear were the ‘scrutiny and engagement’ roles to LSCs? What did ‘good practice’ actually look like, and how might it be cultivated in ways that still respected differences in local structures? To what extent had the SG, CoSLA and IS (2013) guidance shaped local understanding of the scrutiny and engagement roles?
- **Information flow and quality.** Having meaningful information on local police practice was viewed as essential to the work of LSCs. How well did this information flow to LSCs and were LSCs requesting information from the police that could help them to carry out their

functions adequately? Did information provided allow effective scrutiny or were there gaps? The roles of the Local Authority Officer (LAO) and LAC were consistently recognised as playing a key role in determining the character of the LSCs.

- **Capacities and skills.** Information provided for scrutiny purposes might be highly technical in nature. Did participants have the necessary time and skills to properly interrogate it? Did participants have the necessary knowledge and skills to critically appraise information and ask reasonable and pertinent questions of it, perhaps also asking for additional information in response to particular issues?
- **Status of LSCs.** Under the 2012 Act the role of LSCs was configured around consultation, providing feedback to the police on local issues, and approving local police plans. More formal powers around police budgets and appointments had been relocated to the SPA. Questions were raised as to whether this had reduced the perceived status of scrutiny work with the police within the context of wider local government roles and functions.
- **Learning and development of good practice.** What (if any) were the needs for training and professional development around local scrutiny of policing? To what extent did the Learning Network Events and the SPA's Partners in Scrutiny events help to create opportunities for learning and professional support around the LSC role? What additional training/networking was required? Would additional sharing of 'good practice' help LSCs in developing their role? Could LSCs benefit from sharing experience and raising awareness of policing and security issues within a wider set of Council committees and partnerships?

STAGE TWO: THREE LOCAL SCRUTINY COMMITTEES

The first task of stage two of the project was the selection of three LSCs for closer investigation. Following the mapping exercise our starting point was the four point typology of where they were located within existing council structures. An additional insight from overview meetings was that this picture was in flux as LSCs continued to develop their practice and in some cases moved location.

We also gave consideration to the internal structure of Police Scotland. Although constituting a single police service, the organisation is structured around local geographic areas. There are three Police Regional Command Areas: North, West and East, each with an Assistant Chief Constable (ACC) having oversight of it. Within these are 13 Divisions, each with a Divisional Commander (DC) of the rank of Chief Superintendent (CS)⁴. As noted previously, some Divisions are coterminous with Local Authority Areas (for example, the Edinburgh Police Division is coterminous with the City of Edinburgh Local Authority) but in most instances a Divisional Police Commander serves more than one Local Authority and so more than one LSC, each of which might be constituted in a different way. Each Division is further broken down into Local Area Commands, overseen by a Chief Inspector, and subdivided into wards (the unit by which Local Authority Councillors are elected to). Wards are generally overseen by an officer or officers of the rank of Inspector. Police Scotland's

⁴ This internal structure has been the subject of some flux. At the time that this project began in October 2015 there were 14 Divisions but by January 2016 this has reduced to 13 with the merger of the Aberdeenshire and Moray Division with the Aberdeen City Division into the North East Division.

status as a single police service therefore belies a structure that is very much constituted around local geographic units.

The aim of the project was to generate qualitative data from three sites (the maximum we could reasonably achieve in a project of this scale) that would be as *illustrative* as possible of the diversity of experience of LSCs around the country. The study is not a *representative* account of all local scrutiny arrangements. Initial requests to participate in the study were unsuccessful in two sites. In one case we know that this was because restructuring was taking place and participants were occupied with associated challenges. In the other no reason was given. Therefore, a caveat to the findings is that it is at least possible that sites facing particular challenges/problems would have been less willing to participate, and so the sites that did participate reflect the more stable/well-developed end of the spectrum of LSC experience.

Taking all of the above on board, three sites were selected for detailed analysis. The characteristics of the three sites, are as follows:

- One site from each of the Police Regional Command Areas;
- Each site located within a different Police Division;
- One site largely urban, one site largely rural, one site with an urban/rural mix;
- Two sites where the LSC was located in community safety committees and one that was constituted as dedicated blue-light;
- Two sites had been Pathfinders (i.e. established prior to 1 April 2013) and one had not.

Although not a formal criteria we used, but perhaps an important issue given current political interest in Police Scotland, it might be noted that all of the LSCs we looked at (as do most, as far as we can ascertain) involved elected members from across the political spectrum in Scotland, including Councillors elected on an independent platform. No single party was given any priority in the research.

The stage two fieldwork took place in December 2015 and January 2016. Arrangements were made through Local Authority Officers (LAOs) serving selected LSCs, and through Police Scotland DCs and LACs. Interviews focused on DCs, LACs, LSC Convenors and LAOs in the three sites. An additional interview with an LSC member from the Third Sector was carried out in site 1 and in all sites we had sight of recent minutes, police data provided to the LSC, and the relevant Local Policing Plans. On the police side DCs (and often LACs) served other LSCs and other Council and Partnership committees, including Community Planning, meaning they could comment on wider scrutiny arrangements. Similarly on the Council side, some of the convenors and LAOs served wider committees and also had direct links to (or were also members of) Community Councils in their locality.

In the sections that follow we outline the main findings from this stage of the project. To set the scene we begin with a summary of what the project team felt were the most important issues and consistent findings to emerge. Then we present more detailed findings, organised around the themes identified in the mapping exercise, and highlighting particular examples of ways in which the SG, CoSLA, IS (2013) principles of good scrutiny were being understood. This section of the report

tries to give voice to the expressed perceptions of our research participants about their experiences of local police scrutiny. We conclude the report with a short discussion section where we sketch our own preliminary thoughts on these perceptions from the external point of view of researchers.

SUMMARY FINDINGS: THREE LOCAL SCRUTINY COMMITTEES

- Professional and interpersonal relationships between local participants were universally perceived to be positive and facilitative of constructive dialogue;
- Information flow was generally perceived to be good, particularly after DCs and LACs responded positively to local requests for tailored local information and contextual details alongside statistical data;
- Council participants all felt that they had been able to input into Local Police Plans and that there was sufficient flexibility to tweak priorities in the light of new information or emergent issues;
- Council officials indicated that they felt empowered to ask LACs questions and for additional information where they felt that they needed it. In most instances they perceived the police to be responsive and forthcoming, albeit that it was felt in site 1 that there was some reticence to provide specific information about police numbers deployed locally (the police provided this information in the other sites);
- Input from SPA members assigned to each LSC was highly valued by police and Council participants, particularly because it allowed local issues to be contextualised with SPA expertise on national developments. However, convenors and LAOs expressed some desire for more engagement with the SPA, and a mechanism for having local issues passed up to the full SPA Board on a systematic basis;
- DCs and LACs drew attention to an internal structural disconnect within Police Scotland. Where the policy or activities of specialist units (under the command of an ACC) were perceived to raise local concerns, there was not a clear mechanism by which the DC or LAC could resolve them;
- Overall, participants felt that they understood their 'scrutiny' role under the 2012 Act (contrasting it with previous arrangements which had more decision making). Participants felt that the consultation and feedback processes around the agreement of local police plans constituted good engagement between the police and local government, noting also that more elected members are now actively involved than under previous arrangements.
- Particularly in sites 1 and 3, there were indications that LSCs were well integrated with Community Safety and Community Planning Partnerships and it was through these structures (not LSCs themselves) that agreement of joint outcomes and improvement plans amongst partners took place;
- Some participants, particularly convenors and LAOs, perceived there to be inadequate sharing of good practice across different LSCs, or ongoing central training and workshop sessions to network LSCs and the SPA, or in-house training and mentoring of members new to the role of local police scrutiny. This suggests that there may not be a shared sense of what scrutiny, engagement and 'good practice' are across LSCs.

DETAILED FINDINGS: PERCEPTIONS OF LSC PARTICIPANTS

1. Structural disconnects

Overview interviews expressed concern that there were ‘structural disconnects’ in three main senses. Firstly, between the work of LSCs and the communities they served, including between the LSC and other ‘representative’ forums such as Community Planning and Community Councils. Secondly, between the LSCs and the SPA, particularly with regards to how concerns about local issues are escalated to the SPA for resolution. Thirdly, internal structural disconnects within Police Scotland that prevent LACs from resolving local problems that emerged out of national policy. They are discussed in turn:

1. Structural disconnects between LSCs and wider communities

- Publicly elected councillors were seen to provide LSCs with some representation and valuable knowledge of local community issues. Many more elected members were perceived to be involved in LSCs than had been the case with LPAs. Police participants also appreciated elected members’ links with wider Council business, including Community Planning, Community Safety and Community Councils. This helped the LSC and ensured that it was joined up with other Council activities (see also Capacities). In all sites it was perceived that reporting back from the old LPAs to wider council committees had been poor, but that the links between LSC members and other committees had improved reporting and exchange.
- Police Scotland produce multi-member ward plans (MMWPs). MMWPs relate to particular wards, the geographic units to which local councillors are elected, and so potentially represent an even more local level of engagement than LSCs (local authority areas served by an LSC will be made up of several wards). MMWPs feed into the local police plan of the local authority area but do not form the basis of ongoing scrutiny which focuses on the local police plan. Even at Community Council level it was felt that the MMWPs held little traction, with discussion of policing driven by current local issues rather than scrutiny of a MMWP.
- One of the principles of ‘good’ scrutiny identified by the SG, CoSLA and IS document is to ensure LSC arrangements “*understand local conditions and reflect the community voice*” (2013:3) particularly through the involvement of local community representatives, and business and third sectors to gain a wider understanding of community interests. The LSCs in Sites 1 and 3 have representatives of third sector organisations (sometimes brought in for specific issues, other times as ongoing participants), both of which were seen as helpful in representing community interests. The value third sector representatives can add to an existing LSC arrangement is illustrated by the following perspectives:

Role of third sector organisations in relation to LSCs

"They are actually asking the people by getting representatives on the committee. There is more clarity, more transparency, the process is clearer. All members bring in different expertise and knowledge base, we for example, have access to the Chinese association, gypsy travellers, and Islamic association so we form that link between those groups and the police. The public are more aware of what the scrutiny committee is about. It's not an exclusive group that nobody knows anything about. When I get the minutes, when they are approved I put them on the web site for all the charities and voluntary organisations involved [this relates to the organisation's own website, and was in addition to minutes also being made available through the Council website]. I am able now to go back to other organisations and say this is what's happening, also I am able to take information forward to the scrutiny meeting from other voluntary organisations.

Public consultation is done in as many ways as possible for example we will do it by leaflet, by email, by online surveys, organising events, going out to public events. In one of our areas there was an international event, we decided to consult the public there so we put up a table and the police went along with us and they also put up a table and put a questionnaire on. I think a 150 people filled out a form out of a total of around 600. That's a 150 more views which is better than the old fashioned way of saying anybody interested in the police please contact us here's a leaflet." (Third Sector Representative).

"It is important every board should have third sector on the scrutiny board. The more people involved in scrutiny, the better. Every organisation like the council will have pre conceived ideas as to what they think the police should do, the third sector will have their own ideas, and with the involvement of the third sector we are getting more rounded scrutiny. We are not just trying to appease or to keep councillors happy, there is a broad spectrum so scrutiny is healthy and we are looking at the broader picture." (LAC).

- While the LSCs did not conduct their own surveys into local community interests and did not perceive this as a relevant aspect of their scrutiny function surveys conducted by local police officers in partnership with local authorities, community safety partners and third sector representatives are drawn on when required
- Focus on joint outcomes and partnership working is highlighted repeatedly by the SG, CoSLA and IS as key principles of good scrutiny (Principles 1 and 3, 2013:3). Sites 1 and 3 had taken a holistic approach to police and fire scrutiny by integrating the LSC within community safety. Members were satisfied that priorities were identified locally with a range of partners including health, local business associations and third sector organisations all working towards agreed goals and joint outcomes. In both sites police and fire performance reports were complimented with community safety reports and scrutiny focused on performance of all partners including that of the council in achieving joint targets and outcomes. In Site 3, the DC had restructured partnership working under a unified working group to ensure greater integration:

Integrated approach and joint working

“The Divisional Commander has restructured our partnership working at an officer level in the Community Planning Partnership. So the officers from all the different agencies that work with children, vulnerable adults, domestic abuse, hate crimes, and counter terrorism work together in the same working group chaired by the Divisional Commander. The driver for us as partners is to ensure we are all doing the right things together and that our work directly feeds into the SOA and into the scrutiny committee. So in addition to police reporting on their performance, we also report on joint outcomes like anti-social behaviour, hate crimes and roads safety. The committee has had its scheme redesigned to help us implement the Community Empowerment Act”. (LAO).

- Site 2 focuses on police and fire scrutiny only. The LSC Convenor intimated that *“priorities are established and settled in partnership with community safety partners but there could be better integration through a shared reporting system”*. Overall, participants’ at all three sites felt that the current arrangements have increased the connectivity between community safety objectives and identification of local priorities.
- As well as reporting on performance against local priorities at the LSC forum, DCs and LACs at all three sites felt that they can also discuss preventative strategies, neighbourhood policing, and other significant issues such as counter terrorism and organised crime with local representatives on an ongoing basis (see information flow, below).
- The need for the police to maintain continuity of engagement with community structures (including Community Councils and wards) had been an issue. Concerns had been raised by councillors to the LSC in Site 2 about successive officers turning up for meetings, often ill-briefed about specific issues of local concern, only to be replaced by yet another officer at the next meeting. This was resolved by changing the shift patterns of certain officers through continuous engagement between the LACs and community councillors and illustrates the key principle of *“providing strategic leadership in order to influence service delivery”* (2013:4) as identified by the Scottish Government, CoSLA and IS.
- Public scrutiny meetings are held in all three sites. The media attend these meetings, raise issues, and can present information back to the communities concerned (what is reported back was outside the scope of this small project). From the perspective of LSC participants it was felt that media questions tended to be more focused on national ‘Police Scotland’ strategies and issues, and less directly on local matters. However, participants’ acknowledged that such national issues often had local ramifications and that this was also a concern to them (see 2 and 3, below).

2. Structural disconnects between LSCs and the SPA

- While the SG, CoSLA and IS document emphasises that LSC meetings should focus on joint outcomes agreed locally and nationally (2013: 5), this might be an unrealistic expectation due to a lack of consultation with local stakeholders on national policy decisions. In the first briefing paper it was identified that, despite ongoing efforts locally to engage with partners, LSCs were concerned about national decisions that had local repercussions. LSC participants from the police and councils confirmed that there was some dissatisfaction that national priorities and policies were not open to scrutiny at a local level, and they felt a disconnect in that respect.
- An SPA representative attended public meetings at each of the LSC sites. This was highly praised by LSC participants. For convenors and the LAOs, SPA representatives provided useful expertise on resource issues and national priorities. These were also important for DCs and LACs who valued their input in fielding questions regarding national issues at public meetings. All observed that there needed to be a more formal channel to raise, and deliberate on, local issues at a national/SPA level. For the moment they were unsure about the extent to which local issues raised at LSC meetings were consistently reported back to the full SPA Board (see also information flow, below).
- The main examples of national policies having local impact that were discussed in all of the project sites were Police Scotland's withdrawal of traffic warden support, stop and search, firearms and the closure of counter services. The traffic warden issue is still being debated at full council level at two of the three sites with no resolution in sight.

3. Structural disconnects within Police Scotland

"We have lost the boundaries of the previous forces with police Scotland but we have created new boundaries with the specialist forces that we never had before." (DC)

- DCs and LACs intimated that whilst LSCs provide an opportunity for members to scrutinise local police performance, the forum is also used to quiz 'Police Scotland' on national policies that are outside of the scope of local police leadership. They found it difficult to respond to these constructively.
- In particular, the deployment of specialist services in local areas and the operational command of these units (e.g. for roads policing) is the domain of Assistant Chief Constables (ACCs). However, ACCs have no legislative duty to present themselves to the LSC nor to respond to local questions and concerns. DCs and LACs in the three sites expressed a fairly consistent view that internal escalation processes between local DCs and Police Scotland's corporate executive may need to be reviewed to ensure that specialist units are responsive to local concerns.

- The weakness of the escalation route is emphasised by the example of roads policing in Site 3. Roads policing officers migrated from other regions and operated under the command of the regional ACC. There was a perception locally that these officers issued tickets in line with a different policing culture and performance targets, whereas previously the local force focused less on tickets and more on engagement with the drivers with a view to changing driving behaviour. This new practice was seen as counter-productive to local policing and resulted in challenging questions at the LSC, but with no escalation route to satisfactorily resolve the matter.

Understanding of roles and functions

- The participants' at all three sites perceived that they had a clear understanding of their roles and functions in relation to the LSCs under the 2012 Act. They characterised the LSC as a 'scrutiny' committee (approving local police plans and reviewing their delivery and responsiveness to local concerns) and not a 'doing' committee where specific decisions had to be made (e.g. regarding the police budget), as had been the case with the previous LPAs.
- 'Continuous Improvement', another key principle emphasised in the SG, CoSLA and IS guidance (2013: 4) was viewed as better achieved through the joined-up working and formulation of joint outcomes and SOAs achieved through Community Safety committees and Community Planning Partnership structures, to which LSCs reported.
- Police and council members viewed the LSC as a mechanism for consultation on local policing issues. In all three sites convenors and LAOs felt that local police representatives listened to community feedback and responded where they could (subject to some issues being formally 'national' in character, as noted previously).
- The DCs and LACs also felt that the LSC serves as a two way communication channel where, as well as reporting on performance against local priorities, they can also raise awareness of policing issues affecting the locality with members, such as preventative work being done in local areas and forthcoming police initiatives.

Information flow and quality

- The current LSC arrangements are perceived across the three sites as having opened up new channels of communication between local representatives, third sector stakeholders and the police. Under the previous arrangements, council representatives, particularly at the joint police boards, were under no obligation to report back to the full council. The current LSC model has enhanced the capacity for locally elected representatives to get regular representations from the police and members feel there is more awareness of policing issues and that there is a better paper trail around issues discussed.
- In general, convenors and LAOs, felt that the police provided good, locally relevant information, and that they were responsive to requests for additional information or for information to be provided in different formats (see below). However, there were some differing experiences between site 2 and sites 1 and 3.

- In site 2, the current style of reporting is a cause for concern for both DCs and the LSC members particularly due to the nature of the report being a “formulaic Strathclyde region based style which consists of hard raw facts, no relating introductory narrative.” It was felt that misinterpretation and misreporting of statistical data by the press, particularly where data is provided without adequate contextual information, can affect local relations with the police and public confidence.
- In site 2 the DC and LAC feel that their form of reporting to the LSC would be better presented with an introductory narrative, followed by supporting statistical data. However they also express concern that this would go against the current reporting style, or the “Scottish template”, which they saw as being advocated by Police Scotland’s corporate executive.
- Experience in sites 1 and 3 has been different, potentially because of their involvement in training workshops during the Pathfinder. Here the DCs and LACs similarly felt the need to move away from the rigid “Scottish template” and after consultation within the LSC they have done so. They have tailored reporting to include information requested by the members. For instance, in site 3 members wanted information presented at specific local levels so that overall crime figures throughout the area were not distorted by bigger towns and could identify different patterns of incidents in rural and urban communities. This was duly included in future reports. Further, members in site 3 also requested a mix of statistical data with 3 year and 5 year trends and accompanying context. Reporting in both sites now reflects this.
- Whilst the LACs present the performance reports and provide the narrative, in all three sites the DCs also attend committee meetings, and inform members of national initiatives and policies. As noted previously, SPA board member presence at committee meetings is also valued as they are able to provide information and answer broader questions about resourcing, finance and national issues outside the formal scope of the local command team. However, members showed uncertainty about whether such issues, when discussed locally, are fed back to the full SPA Board.
- As LSCs are held in a public forum with regular attendance from local media, participants felt constrained in sharing sensitive information in that forum.
- All three sites have developed informal briefing sessions, members’ only monthly meetings with cross-section political representation and representation from LACs and DCs where all issues are discussed in private. While these meetings are not minuted, participants were unanimous in recognising the benefits of these sessions, “one of most helpful both in terms of local scrutiny and information exchange”.
- The interpersonal dynamics between DCs, LACs, Convenors and LAOs is seen as key to local partnership working by all participants. Informal meetings have helped alleviate restrictions on what can and cannot be shared as one LSC Convenor said *“nothing is off the table, I can get the information on officer numbers deployed in my local area without any problem”*. However, in one of the sites members have expressed concern about the number of officers

deployed in their local areas and they feel that this information should be divulged so they can fulfil their community safety obligations. In this site an overview of resources and deployment in percentages was provided, whereas in other sites exact information on officer numbers and shifts was provided. The perceived quality of local working relationships may affect what is perceived as ‘sensitive’ information and how discretion to release it is exercised.

- Regular informal meetings, as well as providing a ‘safe space’ to share sensitive information, are perceived by local officers as a useful forum to raise concerns and “lobby” elected members for additional support from other community safety and community planning partners to help meet local objectives and to ease the pressure on local police resources, as illustrated below:

Benefits of ongoing dialogue in strengthening local relationships

“We have monthly cross-party meetings with the scrutiny board members including the Convenor. The community police inspector and the local liaison for the neighbourhood policing team is also there. We have a frank discussion about things that are going on in the local area and we are able to get into a lot more detail about issues because it is not a publically minuted meeting and the press are obviously not there. The feedback has been very positive and the chair of the scrutiny committee will agree.

Since we started this initiative, the discussions have really evolved from just being performance based to broader issues that affect us such as how many missing persons we are dealing with and how much time is spent on dealing with mental health admissions at the hospital. We have a duty of care but these are influential people who sit on other boards like the Health board so it's also an opportunity for us to raise issues.

Because policing is not just about nicking people, it's much wider than that and I think there is an opportunity to capture this wider discussion, so the narrative is much more important. It is a much joined up approach and we have a very strong relationship here.” (LAC).

Capacities and skills:

- Data for local scrutiny is generated centrally by Police Scotland performance analysts using the performance management system called SCOMIS. The reports provided contain a mix of statistical data and contextual information, with all three DCs making efforts to tailor them to local needs and priorities (as far as the ‘Strathclyde template’ noted earlier would allow). As the primary function of LSCs is to scrutinise police performance against priorities identified in the local police plans, members felt that key skills they required included an ability to understand police reports and ask questions about them in light of their community knowledge and the agreed local priorities.
- Sites 1 and 3 have a cross-section of stakeholders at the LSC meetings. This includes government and opposition councillors, police, fire, community safety, health and equalities,

minority group representatives, housing and trader's associations. This diversity is felt to bring a range of knowledge and expert skills into the scrutiny process.

- These sites also benefitted from being part of Pathfinder as training workshops organised by the LAO and DCs ensured that members understood what was being presented to them and had an opportunity to ask questions around that.
- For instance in Site 3, the LAO, the DC and the local senior officer for the Fire and Rescue Service ran a workshop with the LSC members during the Pathfinder phase (see below). The session was well received and members made a list of requests for changing the way in which future data was presented. The DC welcomed this approach as expectations were clear from the start.

Training workshops for LSC members during Pathfinder

"We realised that for members to get their new role right they needed some development and support, just some basic things like how to scrutinise performance data. The Scottish Government and CoSLA had issued the principles of good scrutiny so we designed the workshop around that. So we ran the workshop which the Divisional Commander and the local senior officer for Fire attended and they presented data, we split the members into groups and we asked them to think of the challenging questions they could ask of that data. It was a great session and what came out of that was a list of requests for changing the way in which data was presented. The workshops really helped and gave the members more confidence, the questions were more challenging and probing as a result and the answers that they got has encouraged them to ask more. Also as a result of the workshops members wanted to have information presented at a lower geography because if you look at crime stats or incidents of crime it can be skewed by bigger towns because the population is higher. Members were also interested in whether there were different patterns of incidents between rural and urban communities and also wanted to look at the relative incidents of crime. What we found in the local committees is that members really love to hear the story of what has been happening in the previous quarter, they have become extremely good at challenging the performance information and asking for clarity on things.

Both the Divisional Commander and senior Fire officer have welcomed that challenge and agreed in that workshop that they would provide the information on a lower geographical area level, they also agreed that they would provide it in a format that would include looking at the figures, not in isolation but with 3 year and 5 year trends for comparison. So it was helpful in lots of ways, members felt confident about asking questions of the data but also police and fire felt that they had gone away making it easier to scrutinise" – (LAO).

"We openly took them down the lines of the sort of things they should be scrutinising us on. So we helped them in the process and now they know exactly where they should be testing, squeezing, trying to improve and I don't think the scrutiny is easy by any means. I get scrutinised more now than ever before at many different levels, those who think there is no scrutiny since the reforms they should come along and witness some of the scrutiny committees we have." (DC)

- In terms of training and skills, members felt that it would be useful to have an induction for new committee members, particularly so they can get to know other members of the LSC. Also, an understanding of what the local priorities mean and asking questions within the

broad categories of crime types was deemed as an important skill that could be achieved through the help of LAOs and DCs/LACs through training workshops of the kind organised at Pathfinder sites.

- It was identified by all participants that the most important quality in LSC members is a genuine interest in the communities that members represent and an understanding of the needs of those communities.
- All DCs also accepted that elected members and community councillors were well equipped to scrutinise and support local policing.

Status of LSCs

- As observed earlier, the participants have understood the role of the LSC as a 'scrutiny' committee and not a 'doing' committee primarily because they understand there to be no formal decision making powers bestowed upon local authorities in relation to police maintenance under the 2012 Act.
- In the days following the reforms, some councillors in the three sites did struggle to adjust to their new roles. In the initial meetings they were still asking questions about complaints, budget, finance, HR and corporate policies of Police Scotland. Sites 1 and 3 specifically stated that the Pathfinder pilots, workshops organised by the LAOs, DCs and senior Fire Officers, and later Partner in Scrutiny events organised by SPA, had aided the process of adjustment. Site 2 were a little more ambivalent, being aware of Pathfinder and Partner in Scrutiny events as ways of finding out what other LSCs were doing, but still feeling that they were learning themselves through trial and error or "*scratching in the dark*" (LSC convenor).
- It was felt by some members that if LSCs had some say over resources they could influence police numbers in their local areas to meet community safety demands.
- However, local authorities have statutory powers to approve the local police plan and this does give considerable influence to local representatives. This is understood by both council and police members of the LSC:

"Within the police scrutiny sub-committee we have a role in terms of working with the police and our own community safety representatives to establish and have a settled view as to what we would believe are our policing priorities which we would ask Police Scotland to deliver on." (LSC Convenor)

"the local scrutiny committee has a clear role to scrutinise the local policing performance, set the objectives within the local policing plan and I have been quite clear that we are willing to be agile and move into new areas of police business depending on what happens because policing isn't static." (DC)

- Although the current arrangements seem to largely be viewed positively as providing robust scrutiny one of the DCs identified an issue arising from the lack of formal powers. He felt that whilst the LSC could scrutinise local police performance and ask questions, he did not feel he was 'accountable' to them.
- One of the LSC convenors also felt that powers of scrutiny alone are not sufficient, and that they are in any case also constrained by the fact that strategic, budgetary and policy

decisions are now made more centrally, both within Police Scotland and the SPA, and through the Scottish Government:

“There are limits to the devolution settlement - if I want the best policing for my local communities and that means having more police officers on the streets by preventing officers from doing civilian jobs for twice the money that’s a change in direction and policy that I cannot influence.” (LSC Convenor)

- Contrary to the above, one LAO observed that the local dimension of scrutiny into the Police Service was quite unique in the context of local public services in Scotland. They noted that the model for policing was positive in that it gave a clear role for local officials and was actively welcomed by the police who recognised the value of community engagement. This was contrasted with health, environment and economic development which they perceived as less open to meaningful local engagement and scrutiny. In the context of Community Planning and Community Empowerment they felt that the hybrid model of police governance was the most conducive to joint working and partnership.

Learning and development of good practice:

- Members felt that there is no adequate forum to share best practice between convenors and officers. Whilst SPA’s training initiatives are welcomed, the outcome from those meetings were not long lasting and were not perceived to have had an impact on local practices.
- It was felt that a more formal line of communication from LSCs to the SPA (see structural disconnects) would offer reassurance that the SPA were learning about local policing issues.
- The convenor in Site 2 noted that in some respects they were still learning and finding their own way. They indicated that Pathfinder trial results had not been shared with the rest of the local authorities and argued that was an opportunity missed in terms of sharing best practice.
- Regional networking of LSCs involving police and council members were noted as a potential means of enhancing communication and sharing of ‘good practice’ across the sector.

DISCUSSION

The overall impression from the three sites was that LSC members have been working hard to make the new scrutiny processes work, that they have developed constructive working relationships to this end, and that they are generally satisfied (particular concerns around national/local disconnects aside) with the new arrangements. However, in this final section we review these issues from the external perspectives of the project team, concluding with some recommendations that flow from them.

The formal and the informal.

Although participants had rightly taken the 2012 Act as the formal basis for their working there were a number of areas in which the practice of local scrutiny was more informally negotiated. For example, through: ongoing meetings and conversations between members being the process where things got done; arrangements whereby SPA Board members attended public meetings; and, links made across different sites of council business through members exercising multiple roles. Much of this reflects participants simply attempting to make the best out of the arrangements as set up, and in some respects informal negotiated arrangements can command local legitimacy and so be preferable to overly bureaucratic or prescriptive models which formally leave little room for actors to negotiate practice that is attuned to local needs. The latter is not what we would wish to encourage. However, some formality in arrangements can establish certainty and clarity of expectations, which are particularly important in times when issues are contested. LSCs need to be resilient in spite of, not because of, the personalities of those involved. More informal ways of working - in meetings without minutes, for example - lack transparency, which might be problematic when disagreements occur (see Crawford and Jones, 1995: 21-22, for an excellent account of this in the context of partnership working). The informal participation of the SPA at public meetings, although uniformly supported and valued, also created ambiguity around whether local matters were being systematically given voice at a national level. A legitimate formal expectation that issues would be escalated – and reasons/feedback given on the outcome – would go a long way to closing the perceived LSC/SPA disconnect. That members were effectively connected with appropriate committees, partnerships and Community Councils was of great benefit to their working, but it wasn't entirely clear if this was a matter of happenstance given the individuals involved, or if formal recognition had been given to the fact that such links are necessary. A final point on formality relates to powers. Where LSCs were largely correct to distinguish 'scrutiny' from 'decision-making' (here they were thinking of LPA decisions around budgets, now moved to the SPA) there does remain a decision for them to make: the decision to approve, or not, the local police plan. Deciding not to approve a plan could be viewed as a power through which to escalate unmet issues of local concern and disagreement. That said, the 2012 Act is silent on what would flow from such a decision.

Expertise.

Participants demonstrated considerable knowledge of the working environment and local authority committee structures within which scrutiny of local policing takes place. There also seemed to be mutual respect around the professional judgement and knowledge of fellow members. However, it should be noted that this project was not able to probe and test some of the claims made here: whether councillors really did have good knowledge of community interests, and what participants really understood as 'community knowledge' (i.e. is this something gleaned simply through being a member and representative of a community, or is it built up through working in different local authority committees and groups, or through understanding of wider community statistics and/or surveys?); and, the extent to which participants had a critical understanding of the information provided to them (particularly the statistics), an ability to challenge their provenance and meaning, and an understanding of the limitations and challenges associated with target setting and outcomes (see Guilfoyle, 2013). It was a lack of such technical capacities that characterised the old LPA arrangements according to Laing and Fossey (2011) and it would take additional research to confirm whether or not this had now changed. Ongoing research by Malik (2016) on knowledge based

governance suggests that a broad composition reflecting a range of skills and expertise may be necessary to counter balance police expertise and any gaps in knowledge could be usefully addressed through deliberation and responsiveness. Current practice at Sites 1 and 3 does illustrate that the inclusion of third sector representatives has ensured a broader coverage of topics discussed. In any case, greater exposure to practice in other LSCs around Scotland would be a first step towards supporting LSC members in subjecting their own claims to expertise to critical reflection, through seeing what they do in the light of what others do. This leads directly onto the next point.

Learning and 'good practice'.

Pathfinders, SPA Partners in Scrutiny events, and individual work by committed DCs, LACs, LSC Convenors and LAOs had gone some way to helping LSCs work out their new function and how to go about it. However, there remained concerns about how long-lasting the effects of such events were, one site claiming little knowledge of the wider efforts to disseminate experience of the Pathfinders (it should be noted that efforts were made, see: Scottish Government, CoSLA, Improvement Service, 2013; HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013). Where it is good that there is flexibility for arrangements to develop locally there is at present a lack of a formal, systematic mechanism whereby LSCs can network and share experience with one another⁵. This is a necessary starting point for cultivating critical self-reflection of practice in individual LSCs, but it is also important if a shared sense of what 'good practice' in scrutiny looks like, and how it is best achieved, is to evolve. It might also act to encourage consistency where consistency is appropriate. For example, it emerged in the sites that what a 'reasonable request' (2012 Act, s45(5)) for information from a local authority was interpreted differently, with one DC providing only general percentage information on local police numbers, the others being more forthcoming. There might indeed be good reasons for there to be different approaches to providing information in different contexts, but shared expectations would act as a useful prompt to ensure that such reasons were given.

Joined-up working and partnership.

It is clear that LSCs work alongside a wide array of other local government institutions and structures, many with somewhat overlapping remits, including Community Safety Units and committees, Community Planning Partnerships, and Community Councils. In the sites studied here LSCs had more or less managed to integrate themselves within these wider processes, and were drawing upon their outputs (community surveys, joint working documents etc.) where appropriate and thus without duplication of effort. They also tended to understand their function within the narrower terms of the 2012 Act (consultation, scrutiny and approval of LAPs) rather than in broader terms like 'improvement' which they viewed as being under the remit of Community Planning partnerships or Community Safety committees. It does seem, however, that this landscape is complicated and characterised by both potential gaps in communication and information flow, as well as areas of overlap and duplication.

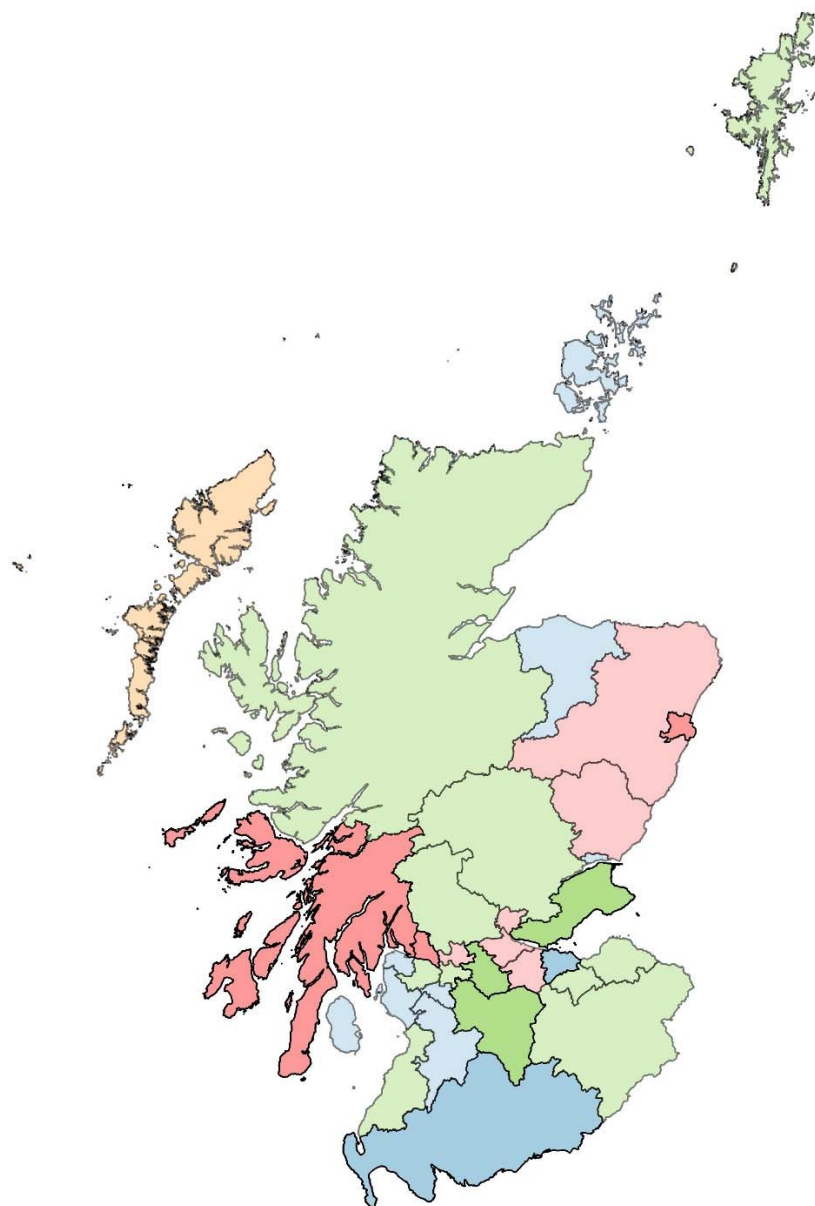
⁵ One model that could be adapted for LSCs is the approach that has been taken by the Scottish Community Safety Network.

Recommendations:

1. **Formal routes of 'escalation'** – between the LSC and the SPA, and within Police Scotland – need to be clarified and set out.
2. **Dissemination of 'good practice'** reports needs to be reviewed and **opportunities for learning and networking** across different LSCs given consideration and supported. Learning and networking opportunities could, but needn't be, national, and Police Regions might be an appropriate level.
3. LSCs should review their membership to ensure that **necessary links** between Community Planning Partnerships, Community Safety and Community Councils (and other relevant local committees or partnerships) are there. In many cases we anticipate they already will be.
4. Consideration should be given as to what **additional training** could be given to LSC members around the more technical aspects of their work (giving feedback on priorities and local statistics, and in approving police plans). The SPA might be well placed to provide some of this technical support. Additional relevant resources exist within Universities and might be accessed through academic-practitioner collaborations such as the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) or the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research (SCCJR).

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Type of Local Scrutiny Arrangements

- Dedicated Blue Light (Uniform approach in DCA)
- Dedicated Blue Light (No uniform approach in DCA)
- Examined under Community Safety (Uniform approach in DCA)
- Examined under Community Safety (No uniform approach in DCA)
- Examined under Audit/Performance Committee (Uniform approach in DCA)
- Examined under Audit/Performance Committee (No uniform approach in DCA)
- Full Council (No uniform approach in DCA)

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Figure 1: Map showing the 4 different types of local scrutiny arrangements and the variation in practice through different Divisional Command Areas (DCAs)

Appendix A – List of Police Divisions, local authorities and types of LSC arrangements

Division	Local Authorities	Type of Local Scrutiny Arrangement
Aberdeenshire and Moray	Aberdeenshire Moray	Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Dedicated Blue Light
Aberdeen City	Aberdeen City	Examined under Audit/Performance Committee
Argyll and West Dunbartonshire	Argyll and Bute West Dunbartonshire	Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Examined under Audit/Performance Committee
Ayrshire	North Ayrshire East Ayrshire South Ayrshire	Dedicated Blue Light Dedicated Blue Light Examined under Community Safety
Dumfries and Galloway	Dumfries and Galloway	Dedicated Blue Light
Edinburgh	Edinburgh City	Dedicated Blue Light
Fife	Fife	Examined under Community Safety
Forth Valley	Clackmannanshire Falkirk Stirling	Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Examined under Community Safety
Greater Glasgow	Glasgow City East Dunbartonshire East Renfrewshire	Examined under Community Safety Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Dedicated Blue Light
Highlands and Islands	Highland Orkney Islands Shetland Islands Eilean Siar	Examined under Community Safety Dedicated Blue Light Examined under Community Safety Full Council
Lanarkshire	North Lanarkshire South Lanarkshire	Examined under Community Safety Examined under Community Safety
Renfrewshire and Inverclyde	Inverclyde Renfrewshire	Dedicated Blue Light Examined under Community Safety
Tayside	Dundee City Angus Perth and Kinross	Dedicated Blue Light Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Examined under Community Safety
The Lothians and Scottish Borders	West Lothian Midlothian East Lothian Scottish Borders	Examined under Audit/Performance Committee Examined under Community Safety Examined under Community Safety Examined under Community Safety

Source: Scottish Police Authority mapping of local scrutiny arrangements, 2015.